

gathered from the slain and wounded of friend and foe was exhausted, the troops gradually began to fall back.

“In the early part of the engagement, I sent two of my staff officers for ammunition, but the ordnance train could not be found.” (Report of Col. Francis M. Cockrell, 4 August 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 109-14.)

Teaching points: Culminating point, unsupported counterattack, leadership in battle, face of battle.

Stand 17 **The Crossroads**

Directions: Walk back out to the crossroads (see map 14, on page 143).

Orientation: By the later stages of the battle, Logan’s division had reestablished itself on the Jackson Road (Billy Fields Road), approximately one thousand yards west of the crossroads, facing south. Osterhaus’ division held a position about the same distance east of the crossroads, facing west. Pemberton’s headquarters (the Roberts House) stood about five hundred yards south of the crossroads on the Ratliff Road (D. J. Johnson Road).

Situation: McClelland’s four divisions stood virtually inactive on the Middle and Raymond Roads during the seesaw battle for control of Champion Hill. At 1400, McClelland finally received Grant’s message, written at 1235, instructing him to attack “if an opportunity occurs.” McClelland promptly ordered Osterhaus and A. J. Smith to attack “vigorously.” Osterhaus’ division crushed a regiment of Stevenson’s division blocking the Middle Road and advanced to within six hundred yards of the crossroads. There, he stopped to await reinforcements. However, the mere presence of a Union force so close to the crossroads was sufficient to accelerate Bowen’s retreat from Champion Hill and to preclude the establishment of a new defensive line in this vicinity. Crocker and Hovey, advancing from the north, drove Bowen beyond the crossroads and then stopped to rest. To their right, Logan renewed his attacks against Stevenson.

Stevenson’s Confederate division, which had been heavily engaged all day, came apart under the strain. Soon his men were streaming to the rear. Two brigades of Loring’s division tried to form a new line, but the battle was essentially over. With the crossroads in Union hands once again and with two of his three divisions badly battered in the

day's fighting, Pemberton decided that the Confederate position was untenable. At approximately 1600, he ordered a retreat.

Vignette 1 (Grant's original instructions to McClernand, issued at 1015, restrained the otherwise-aggressive political general): "Close up all your forces as expeditiously as possible, but cautiously. The enemy must not be allowed to get to our rear." (Grant to McClernand, 16 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 317-18.)

Vignette 2 (The message Grant sent at 1235, which McClernand received at 1400): "As soon as your command is all in hand, throw forward skirmishers and feel the enemy, and attack him in force if an opportunity occurs. I am with Hovey and McPherson, and will see that they fully co-operate." (Grant to McClernand, 16 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 318.)

Vignette 3 (The commander of a Confederate regiment, posted near the crossroads, describes the collapse of Stevenson's division): "At this time our friends gave way and came rushing to the rear panic-stricken. I rushed to the front, and ordered them to halt, but they heeded neither my orders nor those of their commanders. I brought my regiment to the charge bayonets, but even this could not check them in their flight. The colors of three regiments passed through the Thirty-fifth. Both my officers and my men, undismayed, united with me in trying to cause them to rally. We collared them, begged them, and abused them in vain . . ." (Report of Col. Edward Goodwin, 28 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 87-88.)

Teaching Points: Synchronization failure, breaking point of troops, face of battle.

Stand 18

Tilghman Monument

Directions: Backtrack west on Billy Fields Road. Turn left on Champion Hill Road, and left again on Buck Reed Road. Turn left (east) onto Route 467, and travel 1.1 miles to the Tilghman monument, which is located in a small clump of trees on the north side of the road, opposite the Pilgrim Rest MBC Church (see map 14, on page 143).

Orientation: This is the old Raymond Road. The Coker House is approximately five hundred yards to the east. The bridge over Baker's Creek is about one mile to the west. The Crossroads is 2.5 miles to the

northeast. Tilghman's brigade of Loring's division conducted a rearguard action here during the Confederate withdrawal.

Situation 1: Loring's Detour. Although the Battle of Champion Hill had begun on the Raymond Road early on 16 May, little subsequent fighting took place there. The Union divisions of A. J. Smith and Blair kept up an intermittent artillery duel with Loring's Confederates but never mounted an assault, not even when McClelland ordered Smith to attack "vigorously."

As for the Confederates, when Bowen's division marched north to counter the initial Union assault upon Champion Hill, Loring extended to the left to cover the sector vacated by Bowen. But Loring failed to acknowledge repeated orders to march his own division to the sound of the guns. He contended that the powerful Union force along the Raymond Road could not be left unopposed. Only after repeated urgings did Loring send one brigade (Brigadier General Abraham Buford's) to the vicinity of the crossroads, when it seemed that Osterhaus was about to cut behind the retreating Bowen. Later still, Loring committed Brigadier General Winfield S. Featherston's brigade to a position on Buford's left. This left only Brigadier General Lloyd Tilghman's brigade to face two Union divisions on the Raymond Road. To buy some time, Tilghman fell back from the Coker House to the next high ground westward. It was here that Tilghman was mortally wounded while directing artillery fire.

Meanwhile, Confederate engineers rebuilt the bridge over Baker's Creek. Stevenson's and Bowen's Divisions streamed southwestward from the crossroads along a farm path, entered the Raymond Road west of Tilghman's position, and crossed the rebuilt bridge. From Baker's Creek, the line of retreat ran through Edwards to the shelter of the Big Black River. Pemberton directed Bowen to hold the bridge until the rest of the army had crossed, but Bowen abandoned the Baker's Creek position upon hearing artillery firing to his rear.

Loring's division constituted the rearguard. The sun was setting by the time Loring crossed Baker's Creek. Believing that Union troops had reached Edwards ahead of him, Loring swerved south in search of another escape route. Finding no suitable road to the west (and losing all of his wagons and artillery in a swamp), Loring marched off to the east and an eventual junction with Johnston. At the time, Pemberton knew nothing of Loring's detour.

Vignette (Buford's brigade, leading Loring's division, turns away from Edwards): "Finding that it was impossible to cross [Bakers] creek under the fire of the enemy and the dispositions of his infantry, [Loring] ordered me to turn my column to the left, and, by going through a plantation, seek a ford lower down . . . I turned the column to the left, passed through the plantation, and endeavored to find the ford, but could not. It was then determined to try to reach a ford still lower down, distant 2 ½ miles, and under the guidance of Dr. Williamson, whom I had secured, moved forward . . .

"As the enemy were pressing us in front, in rear, and on the flank, it became necessary to move with great caution, and only over neighborhood roads and paths long unused. It soon became evident that the artillery could not travel over the paths which necessity forced us to take. Some of the pieces were, therefore, abandoned after using all possible means of saving them which the retreat, nature of the ground, and the presence of the enemy permitted. They were abandoned, however, only after rendering them useless to the enemy.

"We moved until near the ford we sought, and to gain which we had marched 10 or 12 miles instead of 2 or 3, and to a point where we had information that we could secure a guide. From him we learned that the ford was impassible, and that he could not pilot us during the darkness of the night to the fortifications near Big Black Bridge without crossing the lines of the enemy . . .

"A consultation was called by [Loring] and the facts laid before us. I expressed the opinion that to reach Vicksburg we must cross the Big Black River at some of the lower ferries, undoubtedly in presence of the enemy, and to reach even the nearest ferry we would have to march during the entire night, and if we crossed in safety would be in danger of being cut off. Our men were somewhat demoralized, our artillery abandoned, the troops intensely fatigued; we had but a few rounds of ammunition, the greater part of which would be ruined by swimming the river, as we had no means to build a bridge or boat . . . [H]ence our only feasible way of escape and to save the division was to move to the rear of the enemy and pass on his flank in the direction of the Jackson and New Orleans Railroad." (Report of Brig. Gen. Abraham Buford, 16 June 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 82-87.)

Teaching Points: Delaying action, command climate.

Situation 2: Evaluation of Casualties. Although the Battle of Champion Hill may have been the decisive action of the campaign, an

analysis of casualty figures suggests that neither commanding general made maximum use of the forces at his disposal. Union losses totaled 410 killed, 1,844 wounded, and 187 missing. Hovey's division alone incurred losses of 211 killed, 872 wounded, and 119 missing. The other two divisions that fought under McPherson on the Jackson Road axis suffered most of the remaining casualties. By contrast, the two divisions on the Middle Road reported a total of 18 killed, 90 wounded, and 26 missing. The two divisions on the Raymond Road lost a total of 16 wounded, none killed.

On the Confederate side, the divisions that fought against Hovey and McPherson predictably bore the heaviest casualties. Stevenson's and Bowen's divisions together accounted for over 90 percent of the Confederate's casualties, which came to 381 killed, 1,018 wounded, and 2,441 missing. These figures do not include the 7,800 men of Loring's division that never rejoined Pemberton.

Vignette (Hovey reflects upon the Champion Hill battle): "It was, after the conflict, literally the hill of death; men, horses, cannon, and the debris of an army lay scattered in wild confusion. Hundreds of the gallant Twelfth Division were cold in death or writhing in pain, and, with large numbers of Quinby's gallant boys, lay dead, dying, or wounded, intermixed with our fallen foe . . .

"I never saw fighting like this. The loss of my division, on this field alone, was nearly one-third of my forces engaged." (Report of Brig. Gen. Alvin P. Hovey, 25 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 40-46.)

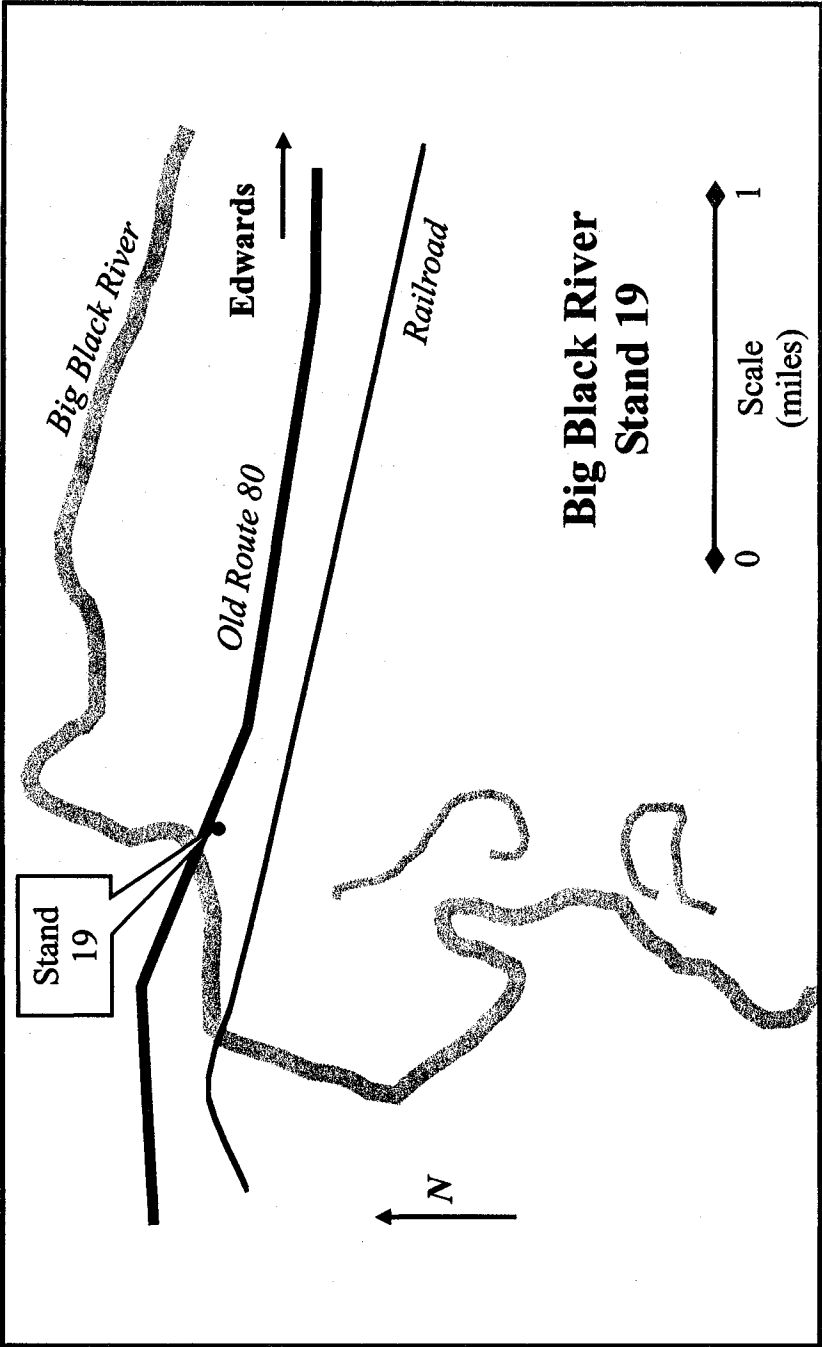
Teaching Points: Synchronization failure, cost of battle.

Stand 19

Big Black River Bridge

Directions: Travel west on State Route 467 to Edwards. Follow 467 through Edwards to a "T" intersection with Vicksburg Street (Route 80). Turn left and travel approximately five miles to the truss bridge over the Big Black River (see map 15 on page 154).

Orientation: The Confederate bridgehead is located within a large bend of the Big Black River. The tree line one thousand yards east of the bridge marks the approximate location of the Confederate fortifications. The present-day railroad bridge stands in the same spot as the 1863 structure. However, in Civil War times, the highway crossed the river (by ferry) south of the railroad rather than north of it



Map 15

where you are now. The bluffs on the west side of the river stand about sixty feet above the floodplain.

Situation 1: Confederate Defense. From the moment that Grant established a Union army on the east bank of the Mississippi, John Pemberton feared for the safety of the Big Black River railroad bridge. In the interval between the battles of Port Hudson and Champion Hill, Bowen's division established a fortified position to defend the bridge against an attack from the east. The Confederate works took the shape of a shallow arc, 1,800 yards in length, extending from the river on the left to Gin Lake on the right. A bayou running moat-like in front of the Confederate fortifications protected the left. Thick woods on this front afforded additional protection from deliberate assault. On the right, the approaches were open and level. The elevated embankment carrying the railroad separated left from right. To improve communications with the far river bank, Confederate work parties planked over the railroad bridge, making it passable to wagons. In addition, they made the riverboat *Dot* into a floating bridge by anchoring her crosswise in the current at the ferry landing.

On the evening of the Champion Hill battle, Pemberton directed Bowen's division to man the bridgehead fortifications while the rest of the army retreated to the west bank of the Big Black. Bowen's two brigades (Cockrell and Green) joined Brigadier General John C. Vaughn's brigade already within the position, giving Bowen three brigades and about 5,000 men to hold a 1,800-yard line. Pemberton did not intend that Bowen should fight a major battle here. Bowen was to stay only until the rearguard, Loring's division, passed through. Neither Bowen nor Pemberton knew that Loring was in fact marching away from them as fast as he could go. Bowen held his position all night and into the morning of 17 May, waiting for a division that would never come. Cockrell's brigade, along with most of the twenty available cannon, covered the right, which Bowen considered the most likely sector for a Union attack. Green's brigade manned the left, leaving the center to Vaughn's brigade of new conscripts.

Teaching Points: Terrain analysis, defense of bridgehead.

Situation 2: Lawler's Attack. McClelland's corps led the Union advance west from Edwards on 17 May. McClelland had his corps moving at 0330. The Union advance met with no opposition until McClelland's pickets encountered Bowen's bridgehead position in the early morning light. Grant, who personally accompanied

McClermand's column, had no particular need for the Big Black River bridge other than to save some time and keep the pressure on Pemberton. (McPherson's and Sherman's corps both found undefended crossing sites not far upstream.) However, Grant wanted to catch and destroy Pemberton outside of the Vicksburg fortifications, if possible. Accordingly, McClermand drew up his forces for a deliberate assault upon what seemed to be formidable works. McClermand deployed Carr's division into the woods on the Union right. Osterhaus, commanding McClermand's favorite division, formed up on the open ground to the left of the railway. Thus, McClermand's best division faced Cockrell, Bowen's best brigade, upon the best ground on the battlefield.

But far to the right, one of Carr's brigade commanders was about to preempt the battle. Brigadier General Michael K. Lawler found a covered approach in the form of a meander scar (abandoned river channel) that brought his four regiments within assaulting distance of the Confederate works. He arrayed his force into column formation (two regiments wide, two regiments deep) and launched an impetuous charge. His troops cut obliquely across the Confederate front, splashed through the moat-like bayou, and struck the Confederate works in the sector manned by Vaughn's brigade. Vaughn's troops did not wait to receive the Union attack—they broke and ran for the bridges. Lawler's assault lasted just three minutes.

Green's brigade, on Vaughn's left, watched Vaughn's collapse and saw immediately that it was in danger of being cut off from the bridges. Soon Green's troops joined the race for the safety of the bridges. Moments later, Osterhaus launched what was intended to be the Union main assault, south of the railroad embankment. His troops walked into the Confederate works without loss because Cockrell's brigade had also run for the bridges.

Confederate losses at the Big Black totaled 4 killed, 16 wounded, and 1,019 missing, most of whom were prisoners. The Confederates also left eighteen guns in the bridgehead when it collapsed. Lawler's brigade incurred most of the Union casualties, which totaled 39 killed, 237 wounded, and 3 missing. But the Confederates succeeded in firing the railroad bridge and the *Dot*, thus denying Grant a speedy crossing of the Big Black. Meanwhile, Pemberton's shattered army was able to break contact and fall back into the sanctuary of Vicksburg.

All three of Grant's corps bridged the Big Black that night. Sherman employed the army's pontoon train, while McPherson and McClelland improvised with whatever materials were at hand.

Vignette 1 (Lawler's assault, the Union perspective): "I remained [in the rear of Lawler's brigade] for some time, when General Lawler ordered me up to support a charge he was preparing to make on the enemy's works. I had not my line in position when the right regiment of his brigade charged across the open field toward the enemy. The general rode up to me and ordered me to charge at the same time, which I did, and I don't think it was anything but the daring bravery of the officers and men which ended the contest so quickly, for we had within 100 yards of the works a bayou to cross, with a heavy abatis, when the enemy commenced putting cotton on their ramrods and showed a willingness to surrender. My men charged into the bayou, and my regiment was second in the works, although they had farther to charge and deeper water to wade through than three others that started in advance of us." (Report of Col. James Keigwin, 18 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 22-23.)

Vignette 2 (Lawler's assault, as seen from the extreme left of the Confederate line): "We skirmished with the enemy for about an hour before they made the charge. They formed their men on the river in the timber where we could not see them. They brought their men out by the right flank in column of fours about 140 yards in front of my regiment at a double-quick . . . I then opened a most terrific fire upon them, and kept it up until the brigade had passed out of my sight behind a grove of timber that stood immediately on my right. They moved so as to strike the ditches occupied by General Vaughn's brigade, so I am informed . . . After they had passed me, I listened for our men to open a heavy volley on my right and drive the enemy back. Upon not hearing any firing on the right, [I sent] Lieutenant-Colonel Law [to see] whether the center were holding their position or not. Colonel Law returned in a few minutes, and said that General Green ordered me to fall back. I did so at once. After I had got back below the bend in the river, I discovered that [the enemy] had crossed the ditches and were between me and the bridge . . . I told my men to swim the river . . . The officers and men who could not swim pleaded so hard for me to stay with them that I gave way to them, and we were all captured. I remained with the enemy three days and made my escape." (Report of Col. Elijah Gates, 1 August 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 118-20.)

Teaching Points: Subordinate initiative, use of terrain in attack, psychological effect of unexpected events.

Situation 3: Pemberton's Options. In the aftermath of Champion Hill and Big Black, Pemberton instinctively sought refuge behind the fortifications of Vicksburg. There was, however, another course of action that he might have followed, involving the abandonment of Vicksburg, an option preferred by his superior, General Johnston.

Vignette 1 (Pemberton reveals his determination to hold Vicksburg): "Every effort is now being made to reorganize the troops, and it is hoped that their numbers, although greatly diminished by [recent events], will be speedily increased.

"The army has fallen back to the line of intrenchments around Vicksburg . . . [T]his retreat will render it necessary to abandon the works at Snyder's Mill [Haynes' Bluff], which has accordingly been ordered . . ."

"I regret to say that as yet I have received no reliable information with regard to General Loring's division . . .

"I greatly regret that I felt compelled to make the advance beyond Big Black, which has proved so disastrous in its results." (Pemberton to Johnston, 17 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 887.)

Vignette 2 (Johnston insists that there is a better course of action): "If Haynes' Bluff is untenable, Vicksburg is of no value, and cannot be held. If, therefore, you are invested in Vicksburg, you must ultimately surrender. Under such circumstances, instead of losing both troops and place, we must, if possible, save the troops. If it is not too late, evacuate Vicksburg and its dependencies, and march to the northeast." (Johnston to Pemberton, 17 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 888.)

Vignette 3 (Pemberton is undeterred): "On the receipt of your communication, I immediately assembled a council of war of the general officers of this command, and having laid your instructions before them, asked the free expression of their opinions as to the practicability of carrying them out. The opinion was unanimously expressed that it was impossible to withdraw the army from this position with such *morale* and material as to be of further service to the Confederacy. While the council of war was assembled, the guns of the enemy opened upon the works . . . I have decided to hold Vicksburg as long as possible, with the firm hope that the Government may yet be able to assist me in keeping this obstruction to the enemy's free

navigation of the Mississippi River. I still conceive it to be the most important point in the Confederacy.” (Pemberton to Johnston, 18 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 1, 272-73.)

Teaching Points: Operational planning.

Stand 20

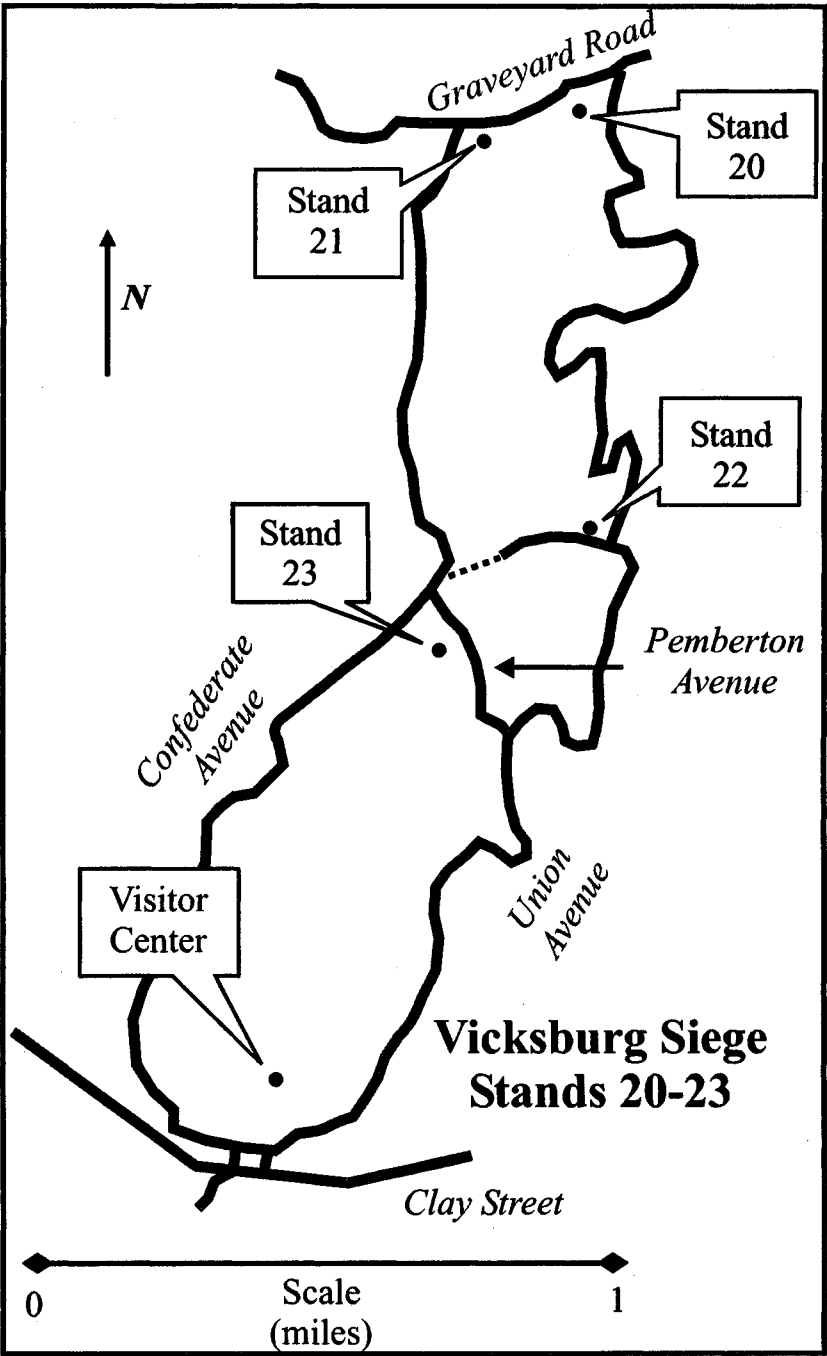
Stockade Redan (19 May Assault)

Directions: Continue west on the old highway through Bovina to Vicksburg, where Route 80 becomes Clay Street. From Clay Street, turn right into the National Military Park and begin the battlefield vehicle tour. (Military groups should coordinate with park headquarters in advance and secure a waiver of the park admission fee.) Stop 5 on the tour is the Stockade Redan Attack (see map 16 on page 160).

Orientation: Seen on a map, the Confederate fortified line protecting Vicksburg resembles the numeral “7,” with both ends of the figure resting on the Mississippi River. Stockade Redan constitutes the apex of the “7.” On the far side of the ravine west of this stand is a large earthwork that replicates Stockade Redan. (A redan was a “V”-shaped fortification, open to the rear.) Approximately seventy-five yards south of Stockade Redan, near the Missouri monument, is Green’s Lunette. (A lunette was a small outwork, sometimes crescent-shaped, usually on the flank of a larger fortification.) Approximately 150 yards west of the redan is the 27th Louisiana Lunette. The lunettes provided enfilade fire over the ground in front of the redan. The road passing from this stand to Stockade Redan is Graveyard Road.

In 1863, the ridge tops were under cultivation, while the ravines were choked with vegetation.

Situation 1: Confederate Defenses. Stockade Redan was one of nine major fortifications that anchored the Confederate defense of Vicksburg. These major works covered the roads and the railroad that constituted the best axes of advance for an attacking army. Rifle pits connecting the major works made the Confederate line more or less continuous. Artillery, totaling 102 guns, was scattered among seventy-seven positions sited to enfilade approaches to the Confederate line. (Another thirty-one heavy and thirteen light guns remained in the river batteries.) Manning the works were two divisions that had fought at Champion Hill (Stevenson’s and Bowen’s) plus two others that had garrisoned Vicksburg during the campaign of



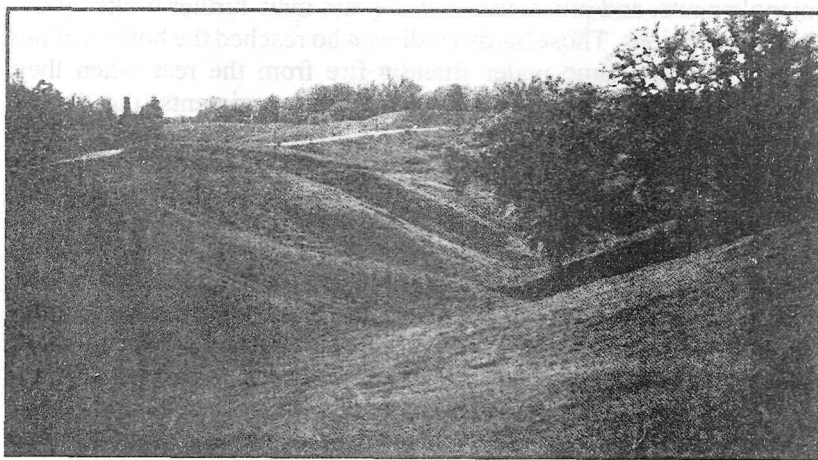
Map 16

maneuver (Major General Martin L. Smith's and Major General John H. Forney's). Stevenson held the right (southern) portion of the works. Forney defended the center of the line, from the railroad to Graveyard Road. M. L. Smith's troops occupied the left (the top of the "7"), from Graveyard Road to the river. Bowen's division constituted a reserve. In total, the Confederate troops defending Vicksburg numbered about 30,000.

Stockade Redan, together with the two lunettes, guarded Graveyard Road. (The name "stockade" came from a log palisade that obstructed Graveyard Road, giving the appearance of a cattle pen.) The redan's parapet was seventeen feet high and twenty feet thick. In front of the parapet was a ditch six feet deep and eight feet wide. The defenders within Stockade Redan on 19 May consisted of the 36th Mississippi Regiment (Forney's division), who were reinforced by elements of Cockrell's brigade from Bowen's division. Man-made obstacles, not to mention dense natural vegetation, obstructed the ravine in front.

Vignette (Grant's chief engineers describe the enemy works): "Vicksburg was, then, rather an intrenched camp than a fortified place, owing much of its strength to the difficult ground, obstructed by fallen trees in its front, which rendered rapidity of movement and *ensemble* [coordination] in an assault impossible." (Report of Capt. Frederick E. Prime and Cyrus B. Comstock, 29 November 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 168-78.)

Teaching Points: Terrain analysis, fortified position



The V-shaped mound on the far side of the ravine is Stockade Redan, as seen from the Union line of departure for the assault of 19 May.

Situation 2: Union Assault, 19 May. On 18 May, Union forces secured Haynes' Bluff and closed on Vicksburg. Grant determined upon a hasty assault for the following day. He reasoned that the defenders would be demoralized by their recent defeats and that they might even break and run as they had at Big Black River. Sherman's corps occupied the right of the Union line, opposite the top of the "7," including Stockade Redan. McPherson's corps held the center and McClernand's the left of the line. Of the three, Sherman's corps was the only one that had worked its way close enough to the Confederate main line to launch a serious attack on 19 May. Sherman designated Blair's division as the main effort. Stockade Redan was the objective.

Blair deployed three brigades for the assault. On the left, Colonel Thomas K. Smith's brigade would attack astride Graveyard Road. Colonel Giles A. Smith's brigade, in the center, would attack through the ravine north of the road. On the right, Brigadier General Hugh Ewing's brigade would attack the 27th Louisiana Lunette.

The battle opened on 19 May, with a Union artillery prep that lasted from 0900 to 1400. At 1400, three salvoes from the artillery gave the signal for the assault. Blair's brigades, assembled behind the ridge facing Stockade Redan, passed over the crest. Assault regiments descended toward the ravine, while others remained behind to provide covering fire.

Confederate rifle and artillery fire raked the blue lines from front and flank as they plunged into the ravine—where abatis, wire entanglements, and pits covered with grass mats further broke up the Union formations. Those hardy soldiers who reached the bottom of the ravine in safety came under friendly fire from the rear when they attempted to scale the west slope. For most regiments, the assault culminated partway up the hill.

Only one regiment reached the objective. The 1/13 Infantry, part of G. A. Smith's brigade, attacked parallel to and approximately one hundred yards north of Graveyard Road. Its commander, Captain Edward C. Washington, received a fatal wound at the bottom of the ravine. A handful of men succeeded in scaling the west slope and reached the comparative safety of the ditch in front of Stockade Redan. A few men from other regiments joined them there. Sergeant Robert M. Nelson planted the regimental colors in the face of the redan, but further progress was impossible. The artillery prep had failed to break down the face of the parapet, and the men lacked scaling ladders to

climb the works. Instead, they huddled in the ditch, dodging hand-grenades and artillery shells rolled down on them by the Confederates in the redan. There, they stayed throughout the afternoon and evening. Not until nightfall were they able to withdraw to Union lines. Sergeant Nelson succeeded in bringing back the regimental colors. He had four bullet holes in his clothes. There were eighteen holes in the flag and two pieces of canister and one musket ball in the staff. Private Patrick Moher dragged the national colors to safety, with the staff in three pieces and fifty-six holes in the flag. Of the 250 men that went into battle with the 1/13, 71 were casualties at the end of the day.

The assault of 19 May cost Sherman's corps 134 killed, 571 wounded, and 8 missing. Confederate casualties are not known but probably totaled less than 200 on all parts of the line. McPherson's and McClellan's corps, which launched only limited attacks that day, suffered a combined total of 23 killed and 206 wounded.

Vignette 1 (T. K. Smith's account of his brigade's attack astride Graveyard Road): "At the appointed hour the signal was given, and at the command 'forward' the troops advanced gallantly and without hesitation. It was almost vain to essay a line, owing to the nature of the ground, yet three times, under a most galling and destructive fire, did these regiments halt and dress upon their colors . . . Having advanced some 400 yards, I discovered that the men were thoroughly exhausted, and halted the left wing under the crest of a hill, from 65 to 75 yards from the ditch and parapet, and where they were comparatively sheltered from the small-arms of the enemy. Returning to reconnoiter the position of my right wing, hid from my view by the embankment of the road, I perceived their colors advanced to the very base of the parapet, and also that my brigade was alone, unsupported on the left or right, save by a portion of the Thirteenth Regulars, who had advanced to a position under the parapet . . . ordered my men to cease firing and fix bayonets, with intent to charge, when, upon closer view, I discovered the works too steep and high to scale without proper appliances . . . [T]herefore I determined to maintain the position and await developments." (Report of Col. Thomas Kilby Smith, 24 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 265-71.)

Vignette 2 (Confederate perspective): "Three regiments and one battalion of General Hébert's brigade repelled the attack of the enemy today, commencing at 2.30 p. m., advancing in three lines. They succeeded in getting immediately under the parapet of the battery, in

position on the Graveyard road. Two colors were left within 10 feet of the works, but were not taken, on account of the very severe fire of the enemy's sharpshooters, and were either destroyed or taken away after dark.

"Three attacks were made. In the first they were driven back; in the second the same result, and in the third they reached the parapet, as stated above. About 50 will cover the losses in front of this position, and perhaps one-fourth of these fatally." (Report of Maj. Gen. John H. Forney, 19 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 359-60.)

Vignette 3 (General Orders No. 64, Department of the Tennessee, 15 August 1863): "The board finds the Thirteenth United States Infantry entitled to the first honor at Vicksburg, having in a body planted and maintained its colors on the parapet with a loss of 43.3/10's per cent including the gallant Commander Washington who died at the parapet. Its conduct and loss the board, after a careful examination believe unequaled in the army and respectfully ask the General commanding the department to allow it the inscription awarded 'First at Vicksburg.' " (Quoted in Terrence J. Winschel, "The First Honor at Vicksburg: The 1st Battalion, 13th U.S. Infantry," *Civil War Regiments*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1-18.)

Teaching Points: Hasty assault over difficult terrain, friendly fire, face of battle.

Stand 21

Stockade Redan: 22 May Assault

Directions: Go west along *Graveyard Road to Stockade Redan (stop 10 on the battlefield tour)* (see map 16 on page 160 mjmnmmbbcbvccbhs).

Situation 1: Sherman's Assault. Grant responded to the setback on 19 May with a decision to mount a deliberate, all-out attack using his entire army. He especially wished to finish off Pemberton and secure Vicksburg before Johnston, in central Mississippi, could organize a sizable Confederate relief force. For this operation, each of the three Union corps would attack in force. Sherman's corps would again attack Stockade Redan, because Graveyard Road afforded the only practicable axis of advance in its sector. Defending the Stockade Redan area were three Confederate brigades: Brigadier General Louis Hébert's brigade from Forney's division, Brigadier General Francis A. Shoup's brigade from M. L. Smith's division, and Cockrell's brigade from Bowen's division. Once again, Blair's division would form the

main effort in Sherman's assault. The attack was set for 1000 on 22 May.

In the predawn hours on the day of the attack, Union sharpshooters worked their way into the ravine in front of Stockade Redan. From these advanced positions, they would attempt to suppress Confederate rifle fire. At dawn, twenty-seven carefully sited artillery pieces opened fire on the redan. They succeeded in partially breaking down the parapet and silencing the only Confederate artillery piece within the work. At 1000, the Union artillery shifted fire to the Confederate rifle pits flanking Stockade Redan, just as the infantry assault began.

To avoid the obstacles presented by the ravine, this assault came straight down Graveyard Road. First, a "storming party" of 150 volunteers dashed forward with scaling ladders. Those who reached the redan prepared to assist follow-on forces in crossing the parapet. Close behind came Ewing's brigade of Blair's division in a column four men abreast. The lead regiment advanced rapidly to the road cut, 100 yards from the redan, but when it emerged from the cut, Confederate fire from the front and both flanks mowed it down. Only a handful of men reached the ditch. Soldiers in the following regiment dove for cover within and around the cut, which was soon choked with dead, wounded, and demoralized men. Blair's attack had been stopped cold.

With his carefully prepared attack in a shambles, Blair began to improvise. He shifted one brigade into the ravine south of Graveyard Road and directed it to attack Green's Lunette. By accident, these men found themselves cooperating with troops from McArthur's division of McPherson's corps, Blair's neighbor on the left. But the ravines proved to be just as impenetrable on 22 May as they had been three days earlier.

Late in the afternoon, Sherman decided to make one more assault down Graveyard Road. Tuttle's division, unengaged until now, formed into column and moved out toward the redan. Once again, the lead regiment was shot down upon exiting the road cut, and the follow-on troops again broke ranks and sought cover. Sherman is reported to have said, "This is murder. Stop those men."

Sherman's corps lost 150 killed, 666 wounded, and 42 missing on 22 May. The Union army as a whole lost 502 killed, 2,550 wounded, and 147 missing. Many of the wounded remained in no man's land for two days after the battle—Grant refused to request a cease-fire to

retrieve the Union dead and wounded. Finally, on 25 May, Pemberton proposed a truce "in the name of humanity," which Grant accepted. Pemberton's losses were only about 500.

Vignette 1 (an account from the volunteer "storming party"): "At 10 a.m. precisely we started, and proceeded rapidly, occupying but three minutes from the ravine to the bastion. Just as we entered the ditch, a captain and a lieutenant from the Sixth Missouri were shot by sharpshooters on our flank, severely wounding both. I immediately assumed command . . . Some men of Ewing's brigade came up, but not sufficient to warrant my thrusting them over the ramparts, to be either slaughtered or taken prisoners. We remained in this position, exposed to the fire from the flanks of the enemy, and a direct fire from the skirmishers of the First Brigade, till 4.30 p. m., when about 30 of the Eleventh Missouri . . . succeeded in reaching us . . . The rebels, in trying to dislodge us, commenced to use 12-pounder shells, burning the fuse and then rolling them into the ditch. We succeeded in throwing back three with our bayonets, which burst on the inside, causing the same effect they intended for us. One shell, however, exploded, killing Sergt. Richard Haney, Company F, Fifty-fifth Illinois Infantry, and wounding 4 privates severely. At about 7.30 p. m. I received a verbal order from Major-General Blair to fall back, which we did, but not till I had all my wounded safely removed." (Report of Lieut. William C. Porter, 23 May 1863, in *O.R.*, Vol. 24, pt. 2, 272-74.)

Vignette 2 (Confederate perspective, as reported by Col. Cockrell): "This assault was preceded by a most furious fire from the enemy's numerous batteries, of shell, grape and canister. The air was literally burdened with hissing missiles of death . . . Nobly did the officers and soldiers of this brigade greet every assault of the enemy with defiant shouts and a deliberately aimed fire, and hurled them back in disorder. The enemy gained the ditch around the redan to the right of the stockade and occupied it for some time. Colonel Gause, of the Third Missouri Infantry, procured some fuse-shell, and, using them as hand-grenades, threw them into the ditch, where they exploded, killing and wounding some 22 of the enemy." (Report of Col. Francis M. Cockrell, 1 August 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 414-17.)

Teaching Points: Synchronization, deliberate assault over difficult terrain, face of battle, commander's callousness.

Situation 2: McClernand's Relief. The attacks mounted by McClernand's and McPherson's corps on 22 May also fell short of

success. In McPherson's sector, Logan's division assaulted but failed to reach Great Redoubt. McClelland's attack against Railroad Redoubt fared somewhat better. Elements of two brigades reached the ditch in front of the redoubt, and about a dozen men of the 22d Iowa (Carr's division) actually fought their way into the interior of the work. Eventually, Colonel Thomas Waul's Texas Legion counterattacked and cleared both the redoubt and the ditch of Union troops.

Meanwhile, however, McClelland informed Grant that his troops had captured portions of the enemy line. He asked for reinforcements and for the other two corps to create diversions in their sectors. Grant doubted the validity of McClelland's claims, but he ordered McPherson to send reinforcements (Brigadier General Isaac F. Quinby's division) and authorized the renewal of attacks along McPherson's and Sherman's lines (most notably, Tuttle's afternoon assault against Stockade Redan). Neither the reinforcements nor the diversions had any discernible impact on the battle for Railroad Redoubt.

Afterwards, McClelland blamed Grant, Sherman, and McPherson for the failure to take and hold Railroad Redoubt. In a congratulatory order to his troops, McClelland implied that the other two corps had failed to do their part in the 22 May assault, leaving McClelland's corps to fend for itself against the bulk of the Confederate army. Sherman and McPherson were furious when they learned of McClelland's insinuations. Both wrote formal letters of protest to Grant.

Ultimately, the congratulatory order provided Grant with the pretext to remove McClelland altogether. The order was, in fact, a thinly disguised press release, which subsequently appeared in several Northern papers. Standing orders required corps commanders to clear such releases through Grant's headquarters. McClelland had neglected to do this. On 18 June, Grant relieved McClelland and ordered him back to Illinois. Major General Edward O. C. Ord assumed command of his corps.

McClelland's presence had been a source of friction from the very beginning of the campaign, when Grant incorporated McClelland's independent command into the Army of the Tennessee. The incidents of 22 May were merely the last of several episodes in which McClelland found himself at odds with Grant. Grant tolerated McClelland's presence because of the political general's high-level

connections and because McClelland was in fact an enthusiastic and aggressive campaigner. But as the campaign progressed, Grant's prestige rose, meaning that McClelland's political immunity declined. By mid-June, with Vicksburg nearly in his hands, Grant could afford to eliminate the quarrelsome and bombastic McClelland. After the ax fell, McClelland spent several months unsuccessfully pleading his case with Grant's superiors in Washington. His military career ended altogether in 1864.

Vignette 1 (After 22 May, Grant saw only McClelland's negative characteristics): "General McClelland's dispatches misled me as to the real state of facts, and caused much of this loss [on 22 May]. He is entirely unfit for the position of corps commander, both on the march and on the battle-field. Looking after his corps gives me more labor and infinitely more uneasiness than all the remainder of my department." (Grant to Halleck, 24 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 1, 37-39.)

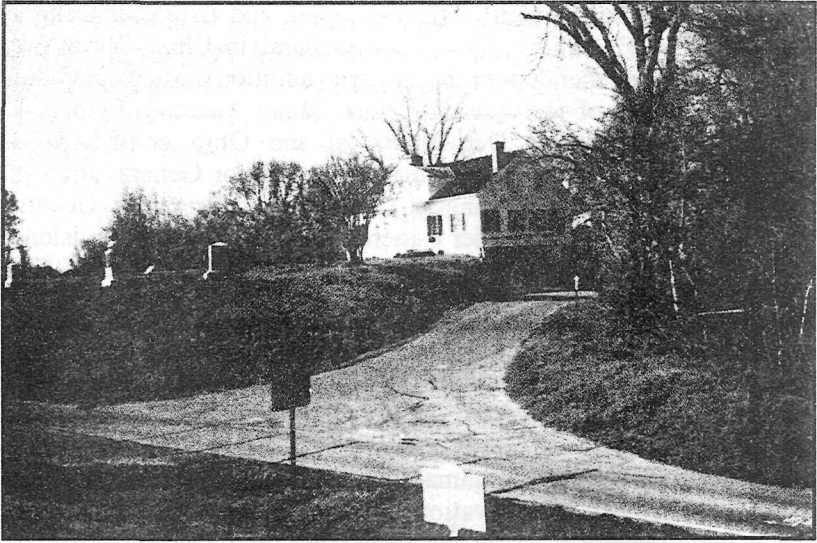
Vignette 2 (McClelland lobbies vigorously for reinstatement): "Having opened the way from Milliken's Bend above to Perkins' plantation, 40 miles below, Vicksburg; having led the advanced corps to Port Gibson and to Champion's Hill, and borne the brunt of both of these battles, as statistics will prove; having fought the battle of Big Black unassisted by any other corps; having made the first and perhaps only lodgments in the enemy's works at Vicksburg on the 22d ultimo, and demonstrated the vigor and persistency of my assault by the greatest loss, I ask, in justice, that I may be restored to my command at least until Vicksburg shall have fallen." (McClelland to Halleck, 27 June 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 1, 165.)

Teaching Points: Selfless service, relief of subordinate.

Stand 22 Logan's Approach

Directions: Drive south along the battlefield tour road to the parking area for Great Redoubt (stop 11). Backtrack on foot past Pemberton Avenue to the old Jackson Road, a gravel path bearing off to the right through a cut. Go east to the Shirley House (stop 2) (see map 16 on page 160).

Orientation: Great Redoubt was the largest Confederate fortification at Vicksburg. (A redoubt was a fortification enclosed on all sides by a defensible parapet.) It occupied the highest ground along the



The Shirley House, starting point for Logan's approach, which extended to the left.

Confederate line. In conjunction with the 3d Louisiana Redan, Great Redoubt guarded the Jackson Road approach into Vicksburg. From Great Redoubt, you can see Battery De Golyer on the Union lines (stop 1 on the battlefield tour). Battery De Golyer massed twenty-two guns against Great Redoubt. By the end of the siege, Union artillerymen had concentrated about one hundred guns in the Jackson Road sector.

The 3d Louisiana Redan was located just north of the Jackson Road, where the road passes through the cut. A large red marker and two artillery pieces, which you passed while walking through the road cut and which are visible from the vicinity of the Shirley House, show its location.

The reverse slope immediately east of the Shirley House was the Union line of departure for siege operations in this sector. Dugouts and shelters covered this slope during the siege.

Situation 1: Union Reinforcements. To conduct a traditional siege operation, the besieger requires two distinct forces—one facing in toward the besieged place and one facing out to prevent an enemy relief force from breaking the siege. Thus, when Grant decided to lay siege to Vicksburg, he needed more troops, though he already outnumbered Pemberton 50,000 to 30,000. From his own XVI Corps in Tennessee, Grant called up three divisions that had not previously participated in the Vicksburg campaign (Brigadier General Jacob

Lauman, Brigadier General Nathan Kimball, and Brigadier General William "Sooley" Smith). The Union General in Chief, Henry W. Halleck, ordered other departments to send additional troops to Grant. The Department of the Missouri sent Major General Francis J. Herron's division. The Department of the Ohio contributed a detachment from IX Corps, commanded by Major General John G. Parke. The IX Corps contingent consisted of Brigadier General Thomas Welsh's and Brigadier General Robert B. Potter's divisions. Together, these reinforcements, raised Grant's strength to over 90,000 (70,000 men present for duty) and 260 pieces of artillery.

Grant used Lauman's and Herron's divisions to extend the lines of investment from McClernand's left flank to the river below Vicksburg. The other four divisions joined the "Army of Observation," a force of approximately 36,000 men commanded by Sherman (Major General Frederick Steele assumed command of Sherman's sector of the siege lines). The "Army of Observation" had the mission of blocking any Confederate attempt to break the siege from the outside. During the siege, this force conducted "scorched earth" raids north and east of Vicksburg to impede the approach of Confederate relief forces.

Vignette 1 (Grant's orders to begin siege operations): "Corps commanders will immediately commence the work of reducing the enemy by regular approaches. It is desirable that no more loss of life shall be sustained in the reduction of Vicksburg and the capture of the garrison." (Special Orders, No. 140, 25 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 348.)

Vignette 2 (General in Chief Halleck expresses his concerns regarding the siege): "I hope you fully appreciate the importance of time in the reduction of Vicksburg. The large re-enforcements sent to you have opened Missouri and Kentucky to rebel raids. The siege should be pushed night and day with all possible dispatch." (Halleck to Grant, 12 June 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 1, 42.)

Teaching Points: Reinforcing operational success.

Situation 2: Johnston's "Army of Relief." With Pemberton's army besieged in Vicksburg, Confederate hopes to regain the initiative rested upon General Joseph E. Johnston. Establishing his headquarters in Jackson, Johnston assembled an army out of reinforcements sent to him from various parts of the Confederacy. This force included four infantry divisions (Major General John C. Breckenridge, Major General Samuel G. French, Major General William W. Loring, and

Major General William H. T. Walker) and one cavalry division (Brigadier General William H. Jackson. Loring's division had been part of Pemberton's army until the retreat from Champion Hill.) Johnston's force numbered about 36,000 men, although it lacked a full complement of artillery and transport.

If Johnston and Pemberton could have found some way to combine their efforts, they might have posed a serious threat to the Union siege operation. Although they could and did communicate with each other by way of couriers slipped through the Union encirclement, the two never agreed on a course of action. Pemberton expected Johnston to break into Vicksburg, and Johnston expected Pemberton to break out. Thus, Johnston remained inactive, even after the Confederate government gave him a direct order to attack Grant. Not until 1 July did he move his force in the direction of Vicksburg. Pemberton surrendered before he arrived.

Vignette 1 (the Confederate president reassures Pemberton): "I made every effort to re-enforce you promptly, which I am grieved was not successful. Hope that General Johnston will join you with enough force to break up the [siege] and defeat the enemy." (Davis to Pemberton, 23 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 909.)

Vignette 2 (Johnston offers Pemberton less encouragement): "I am too weak to save Vicksburg. Can do no more than attempt to save you and your garrison. It will be impossible to extricate you, unless you co-operate, and we make mutually supporting movements. Communicate your plans and suggestions, if possible." (Johnston to Pemberton, 29 May 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 929.)

Vignette 3 (an apocryphal tale about a prewar hunting trip that may explain Johnston's inactivity):

"He was a capital shot, better than Wade or I; but with . . . Johnston . . . the bird flew too high or too low, the dogs were too far or too near. Things never did suit exactly. He was too fussy, too hard to please, too cautious, too much afraid to miss and risk his fine reputation for a crack shot. Wade and I . . . came home with a heavy bag. We shot right and left, happy-go-lucky. Joe Johnston did not shoot at all. The exactly right time and place never came." (Hamilton Boykin, quoted in Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, Ben A. Williams, ed. [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949], 175.)

Teaching Points: Lack of intent, absence of synchronization.

Situation 3: Trans-Mississippi Relief Effort. Across the river from Vicksburg was the Confederate Department of the Trans-Mississippi under the command of General Edmund Kirby Smith. Throughout the Vicksburg campaign, the government in Richmond had prodded Smith to provide some assistance to Pemberton. It was not until the siege was under way that Smith felt able to do so. He dispatched a division-size force commanded by Major General Richard Taylor to attack Union bases on the west bank of the Mississippi. On 31 May, Taylor's men captured New Carthage, and on 5 June, they occupied the Lake Saint Joseph area. Neither of these locations, however, was of any particular importance so late in the campaign.

Between 7 and 10 June, Taylor undertook a series of attacks upon the much more important Union bases at Milliken's Bend, Young's Point, and Lake Providence. These piecemeal attacks failed, due in part to Union gunboat firepower, and in part to the stout resistance mounted by the Union garrisons. Some of the Union regiments involved in these actions were locally raised units consisting of freed slaves.

Teaching Points: Failure to coordinate across unit boundaries.

Situation 4: Logan's Approach.. In a traditional siege, the besieging force first fortifies its own positions to protect itself from counterattacks and then begins to dig approaches (saps) to advance its men and guns toward the enemy works. (An approach is a zigzag trench with angles laid out so that no section of the trench is exposed to direct enemy fire down its length.) During the siege of Vicksburg, Union soldiers dug ten separate approaches at various points along their twelve-mile line. Logan's division of McPherson's corps dug one of these approaches, which ran from the Shirley House toward the 3d Louisiana Redan. Captain Andrew Hickenlooper, McPherson's chief engineer, supervised the work. The trench was eight feet wide and seven feet deep so that artillery could pass through. A railroad car loaded with bales of cotton served as moveable cover for the digging parties. (Usually, a large bundle of brush called a "sap roller" would be used for this purpose.)

(Follow the route of Logan's approach.) Logan's men began digging on 26 May. Work parties numbered 300 men at the outset but diminished in size as the approach neared the enemy. The approach began at the battery opposite the Shirley House and ran up to the front porch of the house. There, it angled left, along the front of the house, to

a position behind the current site of the Illinois monument. Logan's men constructed an artillery battery position at this angle. From this battery, the approach ran left across the Jackson Road. At the road, the small knoll in front provided cover from the 3d Louisiana Redan, so the workers were able to dig straight ahead to the base of the knoll. They reached the knoll on 3 June.

On this knoll, the Union work parties established Battery Hickenlooper—two 30-pounder Parrott guns situated less than 150 yards from the parapet of 3d Louisiana Redan. They also dug a “parallel” extending left from the knoll. (A parallel is a trench running parallel to the enemy front within which the besiegers may mass troops and guns.)

The approach then continued from the right-hand side of the knoll to the point where Hickenlooper's statue stands today. Here, the Union troops put out another parallel to the right and left of the approach. Driving the approach forward, Logan's men reached the base of the enemy redan on 22 June.

Then, the digging parties began mining under the redan. They excavated a tunnel forty-five feet long, which branched at the end into three galleries, each fifteen feet long. Into these galleries, Logan's men placed 2,200 pounds of black powder.

At 1530 on 25 June, the mine was detonated, creating a crater forty feet wide and twelve feet deep, where the point of the redan had once stood. Brigadier General Mortimer D. Leggett's brigade of Logan's division sent a regiment charging into the crater, supported by every gun within firing range. But the defenders of the redan, Hébert's brigade of Forney's division, had detected the mining operation and evacuated the work before the mine exploded. They stopped Leggett's attack from a newly constructed position in the rear of the damaged redan. Fighting continued in and around the crater well into the night, but when Cockrell's brigade (Bowen's division) arrived to reinforce the Confederate line, any chance of a Union breakthrough vanished. The engagement cost Logan 34 killed and 209 wounded. Confederate losses were 21 killed and 73 wounded. Logan's men immediately started another mine under the remnants of the redan. Detonated on 1 July, this mine completed the destruction of the redan, but there was no Union assault.

Although labor intensive, the siege phase of the Vicksburg campaign was not particularly bloody. Excluding the assaults of 19

and 22 May, six weeks of siege warfare resulted in only 530 Union casualties—104 killed, 419 wounded, and 7 missing. Confederate casualties were higher, owing to the overwhelming Union superiority in artillery. Pemberton's men sustained approximately 2,500 total casualties in the siege. In addition, Union shelling killed three Vicksburg citizens and wounded another twelve.

Vignette 1 (a Confederate attempt to interrupt Logan's siege operations): "I have the honor to report that, for two days before, the enemy had been advancing their works on the Jackson road, under the cover of cotton bales placed on a [railroad] car, which car was moved along at will. Yesterday I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, of the Third Louisiana Regiment, to make an attempt to destroy this cotton, and, if necessary, I would order some volunteers to dash forward and fire the cotton. The lieutenant-colonel, however, invented a safer and a much simpler course. He procured spirits of turpentine and tow [flax or hemp fibers], and, wrapping his musket-balls with the same, fired them, with light charges, into the cotton bales. His attempt succeeded admirably. The cotton was soon burning, and our sharpshooters, having been well instructed, prevented the fire from being extinguished or the cotton rolled away. Lieutenant-Colonel Russell reports that the car and over twenty bales of cotton on it were destroyed . . . The car was at a distance of some 75 yards from our works when destroyed, at 10 p. m. yesterday." (Report of Brig. Gen. Louis Hébert, 9 June 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 371.)

Vignette 2 (an account of Logan's assault following the explosion of the mine): "At 4.30 o'clock the mine was sprung, and before the dirt and smoke was cleared away the Forty-fifth Illinois had filled the gap made by the explosion and were pouring deadly volleys into the enemy. As soon as possible, loop-hole timber was placed upon the works for the sharpshooters, but the enemy opened a piece of artillery at very close range on that point, and the splintering timbers killed and wounded more men than did balls, and I ordered the timbers to be removed. Hand-grenades were then freely used by the enemy, which made sad havoc amongst my men, for, being in the crater of the exploded mine, the sides of which were covered by the men, scarcely a grenade was thrown without doing damage, and in most instances horribly mangling those they happened to strike. The Forty-fifth Illinois, after holding the position and fighting desperately until their guns were too hot for further use, were relieved by the Twentieth

Illinois . . .” (Report of Brig. Gen. Mortimer D. Leggett, 6 July 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 293-95.)

Vignette 3 (Confederate account of the crater battle): “At that hour the enemy sprang his mine under the main redan, on the left of the road, and advanced to the assault. His attempt was a feeble one, and was easily defeated; but few of his men could be brought to mount the breach, and, with the exception of one officer (supposed to be a field officer, leading the forlorn hope), evinced [no] determination. He mounted the parapet, waved and called his men forward, but was instantly shot down. After his repulse, the enemy occupied the outer slope of our works, and from there commenced, accompanied by musketry fire, a terrific shower of hand-grenades upon our men. We replied with grenades and sharpshooters, and this species of combat is still going on this morning...

“After the first charge, the enemy attempted to advance by covering himself with logs and pieces of timber. He was made to fall back several times by the rapid and well-directed fire of a piece of our artillery commanded by Lieutenant Scott (Appeal Battery) . . .

“At the time of the explosion, 6 enlisted men of the Forty-third Mississippi Regiment were at work in the shaft, which our engineers were digging in the redan to meet the enemy’s [tunnel]. These soldiers were necessarily lost. Not another man was injured by the explosion. This is attributable to the shaft in question, which served as a vent upward to the force of the blast . . .” (Report of Brig. Gen. Louis Hébert, 26 June 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 371-73.)

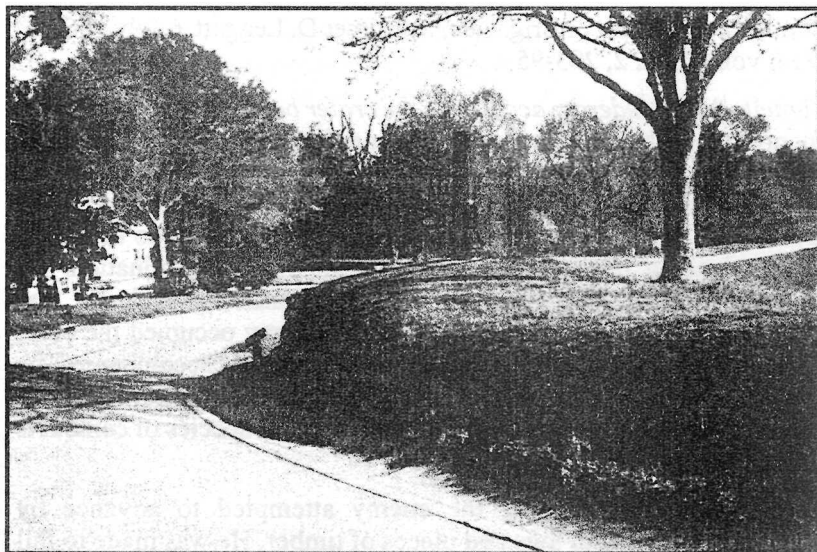
Teaching Points: Terrain analysis, “Plan, Prepare, Execute.”

Stand 23 Surrender Interview Site

Directions: Backtrack west to the battlefield tour road, then south to Pemberton Avenue. Turn left on Pemberton Avenue to the surrender interview site (see map 16 on page 160).

Orientation: The surrender interview site is located in no-man’s-land between the Union and Confederate lines. A small oak tree stood at this spot in 1863.

Situation: By the end of June, Pemberton realized that the siege of Vicksburg was about to reach its climax with a general Union assault (which, in fact, was scheduled for 6 July). He was no longer confident



This artillery piece standing on its base (center of photo) marks the location of the interview between Grant and Pemberton.

that his army could withstand such a blow. Of his 30,000 men, about 6,000 lay in hospitals recuperating from wounds and disease. The remainder was exhausted and demoralized. Six weeks of continuous duty in the trenches, subjected to incessant Union mortar boat, artillery, and rifle fire, had taken their toll. Pemberton had been compelled to reduce rations, and much of the food being issued to the troops was of poor quality. On 28 June, Pemberton received a mysterious letter signed "Many Soldiers" which warned that the army was "ripe for mutiny."

Clearly, a prolongation of the siege was not a viable option. On 1 July, Pemberton issued a circular letter to his division and brigade commanders asking whether their troops were capable of attempting a breakout. Only one of his generals believed that a breakout was feasible. At a council of war held the following day, all of his division commanders urged Pemberton to surrender.

On 3 July, Pemberton wrote a letter to Grant proposing the appointment of commissioners to negotiate terms of surrender. Bowen, who strongly favored an immediate surrender, carried the message into Union lines under a flag of truce. Grant refused to meet personally with Bowen, even though the two had been neighbors in

Missouri before the war. (Bowen had been a successful architect, while Grant sold firewood door to door.) Nor did Grant accept Pemberton's proposal to appoint commissioners. Bowen then suggested, on his own initiative, that Grant and Pemberton meet in person later that day. To this, Grant agreed. When he returned to Pemberton's headquarters, Bowen implied that Grant had been the one to request the meeting. Perceiving this to be a concession on Grant's part, Pemberton accepted.

At 1500, Grant and Pemberton, along with some of their key subordinates, met in the shade of a small oak tree near the point where the Jackson Road entered Confederate lines. When it became obvious that Bowen had manipulated the two into meeting each other, the conference nearly broke off. Grant made it clear that he would accept nothing short of an unconditional Confederate surrender, to which Pemberton replied that he was willing and ready to keep on fighting. Rather than have the talks break off, though, Grant suggested that he and Pemberton step aside so that their subordinates could do some informal negotiating. Finally, it was agreed that Grant would write out terms of surrender and send them to Pemberton that night.

Upon returning to his headquarters, Grant called together his corps and division commanders to discuss the terms he should offer—unconditional surrender or parole. Should Grant demand unconditional surrender, Pemberton would most likely refuse and the siege would continue. If Pemberton, however, accepted, Grant would have to feed and guard 30,000 prisoners until they could be transported north. Under the terms of parole, on the other hand, Pemberton's soldiers would be listed by name and then returned to Confederate control under the agreement that they would not bear arms until "exchanged" for paroled Union soldiers. Ultimately, Grant decided to offer parole. Pemberton accepted early the next morning.

At 1000 on 4 July, white flags appeared all along the Confederate line. Pemberton's soldiers then marched out of their works, stacked their arms in no-man's-land, and returned to their camps. Logan's division of McPherson's corps entered Vicksburg and raised the United States flag over the Warren County courthouse.

It took a week for the Confederates to fill out and sign their parole papers. (About 700 of Pemberton's men refused to sign, preferring to go north as prisoners rather than remain in Confederate service.) Finally, on 11 and 12 July, the disarmed Confederates marched out of

Vicksburg, bound for a camp in Demopolis, Alabama, where they would await exchange.

Meanwhile, Sherman led a strong force in pursuit of Johnston's would-be army of relief, and the Civil War went on.

Vignette 1 (excerpt from the "Many Soldiers" letter sent to Pemberton): "Men don't want to starve, and don't intend to, but they call upon you for justice, if the commissary department can give it; if it can't, you must adopt some means to relieve us very soon. The emergency of the case demands prompt and decided action on your part.

"If you can't feed us, you had better surrender us, horrible as the idea is, than suffer this noble army to disgrace themselves by desertion.

I tell you plainly, men are not going to lie here and perish, [even] if they do love their country dearly. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and hunger will compel a man to do almost anything.

"You had better heed a warning voice, though it is the voice of a private soldier.

"This army is now ripe for mutiny, unless it can be fed.

"Just think of one small biscuit and one or two mouthfuls of bacon per day. General, please direct your inquiries in the proper channel, and see if I have not stated stubborn facts, which had better be heeded before we are disgraced." ("Many Soldiers" to Pemberton, 28 June 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 3, 982-83.)

Vignette 2 (Pemberton's circular letter to his division commanders): "Unless the siege of Vicksburg is raised or supplies are thrown in, it will be necessary very shortly to evacuate the place. I see no prospect of the former, and there are very great, if not insuperable, obstacles in the way of the latter. You are, therefore, requested to inform me, with as little delay as possible, as to the condition of your troops, and their ability to make the marches and undergo the fatigues necessary to accomplish a successful evacuation. You will, of course, use the utmost discretion while informing yourself through your subordinates upon all points tending to a clear elucidation of the subjects of my inquiry." (Pemberton to Stevenson, 1 July 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 2, 347.)

Vignette 3 (Bowen's reply): "I have the honor to state that my men are in as good, if not better spirits, than any others in the line, and able to

stand as much fatigue, yet I do not consider them capable (physically) of enduring the hardships incident to such an undertaking . . . I am satisfied they cannot give battle and march over 10 or 12 miles in the same day. In view of the fact that General Johnston has never held out the slightest hope to us that the siege could be raised . . . I see no alternative but to endeavor to rescue the command by making terms with the enemy. Under the most favorable circumstances, were we to cut our way out, we could not, in my opinion, save two-thirds of our present effective strength." (Bowen to Pemberton, 2 July 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 1, 282-83.)

Vignette 4 (the terms of capitulation proposed by Grant): "In conformity with agreement of this afternoon, I will submit the following proposition for the surrender of the city of Vicksburg, public stores, &c:

"On your accepting the terms proposed, I will march in one division as a guard, and take possession at 8 A.M. to-morrow. As soon as rolls can be made out, and paroles signed by officers and men, you will be allowed to march out of our lines, the officers taking with them their side-arms and clothing, and the field, staff, and cavalry officers one horse each. The rank and file will be allowed all their clothing, but no other property. If these conditions are accepted, any amount of rations you may deem necessary can be taken from the stores you now have, and also the necessary cooking utensils for preparing them. Thirty wagons also, counting two two-horse or mule teams as one, will be allowed to transport such articles as cannot be carried along.

"The same conditions will be allowed to all sick and wounded officers and soldiers as fast as they become able to travel.

"The paroles for these latter must be signed, however, while officers are present authorized to sign the roll of prisoners." (Grant to Pemberton, 3 July 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 1, 60.)

Vignette 5 (Grant sends Washington the good news): "The enemy surrendered this morning. The only terms allowed is their parole as prisoners of war. This I regarded as of great advantage to us at this juncture. It saves probably several days in the captured town; leaves troops and transports ready for immediate service. General Sherman, with a large force, will face immediately on Johnston and drive him from the State. I will send troops to the relief of General Banks, and return the Ninth Corps to General Burnside." (Grant to Halleck, 4 July 1863, in *O.R.*, vol. 24, pt. 1, 44.)

Vignette 6 (a congratulatory letter to Grant): "I do not remember that you and I ever met personally. I write this now as a grateful acknowledgement for the almost inestimable service you have done the country. I wish to say a word further. When you first reached the vicinity of Vicksburg, I thought you should do, what you finally did—march the troops across the neck, run the batteries with the transports, and thus go below; and I never had any faith, except a general hope that you knew better than I, that the Yazoo Pass expedition, and the like, could succeed. When you got below, and took Port-Gibson, Grand Gulf, and vicinity, I thought you should go down the river and join Gen. Banks; and when you turned Northward East of the Big Black, I feared it was a mistake. I now wish to make the personal acknowledgement that you were right, and I was wrong. Yours very truly, [Abraham Lincoln]." (Lincoln to Grant, 13 July 1863, in *Abraham Lincoln, Speeches and Writings, 1859-1865* [New York: Library of America, 1989], 477-78.)

Teaching Points: Erosion of warrior ethos, surrender protocols, placing trust in subordinates.
